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$7/19/94$

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TO: The Acting Secretary

THROUGH: P – Mr. Tarnoff

FROM: AF – George E. Moose

SUBJECT: Near-Term Strategy for Rwanda

SUMMARY

With a fragile cease-fire and a new government in place, our strategy in Rwanda should focus on rapid humanitarian relief, inclusivity in the government, rapid deployment of an effective UN force, return of refugees, and accountability for the perpetrators of atrocities.

DISCUSSION

The RPF installed a new government in Rwanda on July 19. Although the RPF had expressed its intent to form a broad-based coalition government in the spirit of the Arusha peace accord, both the new President (Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu) and the Vice President (Commander Paul Kagame, a Tutsi) are top-ranking RPF officials. The RPF is reportedly taking over the five ministerial positions and eleven assembly seats formerly given to President Habyarimana's party, MRND. Other parties are expected to be represented, but no ministerial positions have been announced, other than the Prime Minister (Faustin Twagiramungu, a Hutu from the MDR party who is accorded that position by Arusha) and Defense Minister, which Kagame will hold simultaneously with the Vice Presidency.

There are now about one million Rwandan refugees in the Goma area of Zaire. Another 400,000 refugees have crossed into Zaire at Bukavu, and hundreds of thousands more may be moving toward Zaire from the French safe zone inside Rwanda. Despite public assurances by the RPF that the (Hutu) refugees have nothing to fear, the refugees show no sign of returning. Armed contingents of the routed interim government forces are present in Zaire alongside the refugees, and the discredited interim government leadership is believed to be in Zaire, as well.

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STRATEGY

Our principal goals are as follows:

o   Save lives through an urgent humanitarian response.

o   Foster a truly broad-based government which will provide stability and respect the rule of law, thereby encouraging return of refugees and, ultimately, reconciliation.

o   Deploy expanded UNAMIR to facilitate and oversee return of displaced persons and refugees, foster stability, and serve as a deterrent to further violence.

o   Avoid the creation on Rwanda's borders of a permanent hostile Hutu diaspora which would be a continuing source of destabilization and possible future conflict.

o   Ensure that the genocidal killers are brought to justice.

To achieve these goals, we shall continue to:

o   Marshall U.S. resources to assist international relief organizations to respond to the crisis.

o   Get relief aid into the French safe zone and Kigali as quickly as possible to create a reverse magnet to refugee flows.

o   Press for rapid deployment of UNAMIR to border areas and secure zone, intensifying efforts to identify other suppliers or equipped contingents while encouraging the UN to adjust its concept of operations to changed conditions.

o   Urge the RPF to reach out to political opponents not guilty of genocide and to follow a principle of inclusivity.

o   Engage the new Rwandan government at the practical working level for humanitarian purposes, while de-emphasizing the issue of recognition.

o   Examine possibility of re-opening the Rwandan Embassy in Washington and our Embassy in Rwanda in view of operational considerations and the performance of the new Rwandan government.

o   Press for rapid completion of UN Commission of Experts' work so that the UN can create an international tribunal; promote a UNSC resolution authorizing member states to detain perpetrators of genocide.

o   Shut down hate-mongering radios, working with the French, UNAMIR or other US agencies.

o   Engage Zaire in disarming former Rwandan government forces.

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